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285 it has been introduced from Africa in relatively recent times. Four types of weaving are employed: twilled work, wicker work, an open weave for which there is no term in English, and twined work. At least 90 per cent of all baskets are twilled over two and under two, the technique being identical with that employed for ordinary mats. The members always run diagonally with respect to both the rectangular bottom and sides. The materials are, as a rule, the same as those used in mat weaving, but large, coarsely woven baskets are often made from split papyrus. There is also a limited use of the inner bark of various trees, called *hafotra*, which is more commonly employed for cloth and cordage. Soft sedges of the sort used for clothing mats are rarely used for basketry, but are employed for certain flat baskets or sacks.

Although twilled-work baskets vary greatly in size and material only a few shapes are in use. The commonest form has a square bottom with sides which are rectangular below, becoming more rounded as they rise until, in the deeper examples, the rim is circular. Stiff, shallow baskets of this type, with sides 2 to 3 inches high, are used as dishes for serving food. Deeper and more flexible ones are used for all ordinary purposes. Small ones of carefully determined content are used as rice measures. These show a regular gradation in size and are the only type of basket for which specialization in manufacture has begun, the rice measures for each village usually being woven by one woman. Square, covered baskets, made by fitting two baskets of equal depth together, are used in dwellings for the storage of clothing, etc. (Fig. 12, f). Deep, oblong baskets are next in frequency of occurrence (Fig. 1, b). They are woven from a rather stiff rush and are used as sowing baskets. They are filled with seed and worn attached to the sower's waist. Covered baskets of the same shape and material, with a broad sling of cloth or matting, are used for carrying clothing and valuables when on journeys (Fig. 12, h). Bottle-shaped baskets are fairly common. There are two types, one with a deep, narrow body, slight shoulder and large neck (Fig. 12, c), the other with a short, wide body, flat shoulder and small neck (Fig. 12, a). Small baskets of the first type are used as containers for salt and larger ones for seed. Those of the second type seem to be primarily seed baskets, used to store maize, rice, etc., until sowing time. One seed basket collected is shaped very much like a sock, with a short lateral sleeve and opening (Fig. 12, b). No others of this type were seen and its shape is probably a result of the maker's fancy. Seed beans are stored in peculiar baskets having

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285 352 along the sides by means of draw strings threaded through the binding. Small separate squares of matting are inserted under the edges of the band, forming the ends of the stool. When first made, these stools are nearly spherical (Fig. 13, b).

[531] Pouches and stools are sometimes decorated with simple woven designs like those used on mats, but the bulk of Tanala basketry is devoid of ornament and rather coarsely woven.

285 [824] Baskets of wicker work and open weave are made exclusively by men. The material is a tough, flexible vine called *vahy*. This is split and flattened. Wicker work baskets are extremely rare, only one specimen being collected. This is a small, cylindrical, covered basket identical with those manufactured by some of the southeast coast tribes and was probably made in imitation of these (Fig. 13, d). The members run vertically and horizontally.

[226] Wicker work technique is regularly employed for one type of fish scoop. This has the form of a half cylinder, the rigid vertical elements of the wicker work running crosswise. The flat ends of the scoop are formed by bending the longitudinal splints inward and fastening them together with rough twined work in bark (Fig. 3, b). Wicker work technique is also used for house doors, the material being split bamboo, and for small open frames used for smoking fish.

In the technique which I have called open weave, the foundation consists of two series of parallel, diagonal members intersecting at regular intervals. Horizontal members are woven over and under these immediately above each intersection (Fig. 13, c). The finished fabric has large six-sided meshes. This technique is employed for deep, narrow, oblong baskets, one of which is to be found in nearly every household (Fig. 13, f). It is hung up beside the fireplace and utensils are dropped into it after washing, the open meshes allowing them to drain and dry quickly. Because of their stiffness, such baskets are also used for storing eggs and other breakables. The same technique is used for the close-fitting, semi-rigid network woven about gourds used for storing grease (Fig. 13, e), and in the manufacture of a large heart-shaped type of fish trap (Fig. 3, d).

[171] It seems to be almost universal in Indonesia and may have been brought to Madagascar from that region.

285 226 Twined work is employed in the manufacture of fish traps, eel cages, fish scoops and hanging platforms, but never for real baskets. The traps are conical or bottle shaped and the cages cylindrical. They are made from closely spaced, lengthwise strips of bamboo, about ½ inch wide. At intervals of 5 to 8 inches these strips are

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fastened together by bands of twined work, usually three rows wide. The twining material is unsplit *rahy* vine. The traps have a conical entrance way, made from pointed slips of bamboo. On one side there is an aperture opened and closed by sliding slips of bamboo into the first row of twining (Fig. 3, e, g).

The fish scoops are conical, 2 to 3 feet across the mouth and 3 to 5 feet long. They are made from long, slender, somewhat flexible splints taken from the midrib of the raffia palm. At intervals of 3 or 4 inches these are fastened together by single rows of twined raffia fiber running at right angles to their length. The mouth of the scoop is held open by a hoop of roughly plaited vines. When not in use, this hoop is removed and the scoop rolled up laterally (Fig. 3, a).

The hanging platforms are made with the same materials and technique as the scoops just described. They are rectangular, reinforced with splints of bamboo at the edge, and are used in household sacrifices and for smoking fish (Fig. 3, c).

The Tanala also make a few trays or baskets from sections of large pandanus leaves. The heavy midrib is pared thin and the ends and sides of the section bent upward. The ends are then folded and sewn together (Fig. 6, g). Small baskets of this type are sometimes made of the sheaths of the giant bamboo, which are similarly folded and sewn.

There seems to be little or no use of bark containers. Fish traps are sometimes made from rolls of bark held in position by bands of twisted vine (Fig. 3, f).

MANUFACTURE OF BARK CLOTH

The Tanala Menabe claim that in the earliest times their clothing was made exclusively of beaten bark, called *fanto*. They have now learned how to weave and with this and the introduction of European cloth *fanto* has become obsolete. I never saw it in use, but specimens were made for me by a few of the older men, who still remember the process.

Fanto is made from the bark of the *voara* tree. When a wide piece is desired, trees up to a foot in diameter are used. The hard outer bark is scraped away on the tree until the soft inner bark is exposed. This is then detached by ringing the tree above and below and making a single vertical cut. The bark is laid in the sun until nearly dry, then beaten. The beater (*odintana*) is shaped like a European mallet, with a head of hard wood and an inserted handle

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arm, around the vertical stick, over the other arm, and back, new lengths being knotted on as needed. The other frame consists of a plank with two rows of holes into which pegs about 8 inches long are fitted. The arrangement of the pegs can be changed to give hanks of different lengths (Fig. 14, f). When enough of the filaments have been knotted on, the hank is removed and laid aside to be dyed. The plateau method of boiling raffia with lye and then twisting it into thread seems to be unknown.

At the present time European aniline dyes have almost supplanted the original vegetable colors in raffia weaving and only a few of the older women know the native processes. Black is made by crushing the leaves of the *lalona*, boiling them and adding ferruginous earth. When the mixture is cold the raffia is put in and soaked for a day. This gives a fine and very fast color which continues in regular use in spite of the imported dyes. Yellow is made with turmeric. The root is pounded in a mortar, mixed with cold water, and the raffia steeped in it for half a day to a day, according to the depth of color desired. It is then washed in running water and dried. This dye is still occasionally used. A good orange dye was formerly made from the roots of the *vazavaritra*, a bush or small tree. The bark from the roots was pounded to powder in a mortar and boiled for an hour with the raffia, which was then washed. This dye was never used with *hafotra*, but simply because the plant grows in the territory of the raffia weaving gentes and sparsely if at all in that of the Zafimaniry. Red was made by boiling the raffia with the bark of the *nato* tree, and a pale grayish blue was made with indigo. The *vazavaritra*, *nato*, and indigo dyes are rarely used today. All dyeing is done before the fabric is woven.

The Tanala make a very limited use of differential warp dyeing. After the chain is ready for the loom groups of threads are drawn together and tightly wrapped with raffia. The chain is then dyed, the exposed portions taking the color while the others remain uncolored. Stripes with alternate plain and colored sections are made in this way, but there are no real designs and dyeing with several colors is unknown. The technique is rarely used and only one example was collected. Threads of mixed color are made by twisting together two filaments dyed in different colors, as black and yellow.

The loom (*tenona*) used in raffia weaving is identical with the oldest Betsimisaraka type (Fig. 15, a). The modern Betsimisaraka type, with treadles, is unknown. The warp is laid on the loom continuously, passing round and round both beams. Tension is secured

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one edge of the fabric. When the cloth is to be made into a woman's dress, the long strip which has come from the loom is cut in two and the ends of each half sewn together. The plain edges of the two sections are then sewn and the border appears at the top and bottom of the simple tubular garment.

Hafotra is a bast obtained from three different species of trees. All the Madagascar tribes use it for cordage, but its use for cloth is now limited to the Tanala and some of the neighboring Betsileo. The Imerina and Bara also made *hafotra* cloth in early times. The best *hafotra* is obtained from the *hafotra potsy*, inferior grades from the *hafotra keoka* and *hafotra ambany akondro*. *Hafotra potsy* is cream colored when prepared, the other varieties light gray. Trees 2 to 3 inches in diameter are cut into 4-foot lengths and the hard outer bark scraped away. The inner bark is then split lengthwise and taken off in a single sheet. This is done by men. The sheets of bark are taken to the village, where the women split them into ribbons about ½ inch wide. The bark is then boiled with water and wood ashes for about two hours and the mixture left standing for a day. It is then washed in running water and, while still wet, is picked into fibers suitable for thread. After this it is washed again, being kneaded on stones with the feet. It is wrung out and dried for a day in the house, never in the sun. A bundle of the still damp fiber is then hung on a hook or threaded through the links of a wooden chain (Fig. 16, e). The operator seats herself on the ground or on a low stool and bares her right thigh. The bundle of fiber is hung beside her, at about the level of her head. She draws down the fibers one by one and rolls them between the palm and the thigh, knotting on new fibers as needed. The finished thread is wrapped around two sticks set in the ground about 2 feet apart. When enough has been rolled to make a hank, it is removed from the sticks and laid aside to be dyed.

Even at the present time, only vegetable dyes are used for *hafotra*. The favorite color is blue, *engitra*, which is made as follows: Indigo is pounded to powder in a mortar and dried. Banana stalks and a plant called *ambiaty* are also pounded and dried, then mixed with dried grass of the variety called *tsipontina* and the whole burned to ashes. The ash and powdered indigo are thoroughly mixed in hot but not boiling water. The yarn is put in and left over night, while the mixture cools. It is taken out, wrung dry, then put in again and left for a day. After this it is washed in running water and dried in the house, never in the sun. The same solution is used

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386 for several successive dyeings, each of which gives a lighter color. The first dyeing gives a good medium blue called *lohony* ("head"). The second gives a lighter grayish blue called *atony* ("neck"). The third gives a greenish gray called *heringy* ("back") and the fourth a still paler greenish gray called *farindasa* ("tail"). The *lohony* shade is the most prized.

[824] A brownish red called *vony* (lit. "yellow") and a dull brownish purple (*esa*) are made with the bark of the *nato* tree. The bark is cut into small pieces and boiled with the yarn for one to two hours each morning and evening, the mixture being kept warm between boilings. Water is added from time to time. This is kept up until the right depth of color is obtained, which takes two to three days for the *vony* and four or more for the *esa*. The yarn is then washed in running water and dried. Yellow is made from turmeric, the process being the same as for raffia, and black from a mixture of tannin and ferruginous earth. The tannin is obtained from several plants, including the young leaves of the eucalyptus. Differential warp dyeing and the use of threads of mixed color are unknown.

286 The loom used for *hafotra* weaving (Fig. 17, a) differs in some respects from that used for raffia. It is identical with the ancient Betsileo loom, which has recently been replaced in that tribe by looms of Imerina type. The warp is continuous, as in the raffia loom, but the beams are semicircular in section and are grooved at the ends to receive the tension ropes. They are usually made from the midribs of raffia palm leaves. The warp beam is tied to two low posts at a height of about 2½ feet but the breast beam is attached by short ropes to the ends of a wooden back rest (*tevoho*). Along either side of the loom there is a long bamboo pole one end of which rests on the warp beam and the other on the ground. These poles support the ends of the *tevoho*, the laze rods, and the heddle rod. Instead of being horizontal, like the raffia loom, the whole apparatus slants downward toward the weaver.

The heddle rod is much slenderer than that of the raffia loom, about ½ inch in diameter, but is also round. A continuous alternate leash of *hafotra* cord is used (Fig. 17, b). The shed stick is round and about ¾ inch in diameter. The laze rods are made of wood and are somewhat heavier than the heddle rod. Three of them are inserted a short distance beyond the shed stick, their ends being tied together with cord. The shuttle is a plain, blunt-pointed stick about ½ inch in diameter and 14 inches long, about which the thread is wrapped spirally (Fig. 17, c).

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286 291 the weft is always dyed red. The only variations from the pattern which were seen were several specimens made entirely of undyed *hafotra* and a single specimen which had four widely spaced stripes of combined blue and yellow on a ground of natural color.

531 286 The Tanala, like most of the Madagascar tribes, display extraordinarily good taste in the combination of colors. Even when glaring aniline dyes are used their compositions are almost always pleasing. The outstanding feature of their textile design is the use of narrow lines at the edges or in the body of their stripes. If the stripe and ground are both fairly light in color, the stripe will be edged with a black or very dark line. A wide dark stripe will have a few lines of light color incorporated. These lines are invisible at a little distance but give emphasis to the whole. Delicate shadings are also produced by lines of graded color. In one specimen a stripe is composed of three yellow threads in the center with two black threads, two dark blue, two light blue, two red and two white on either side.

CORDAGE

283 The best native material for cordage is raffia. Long ribbons of this fiber, just as it is striped from the leaf, are used for all the purposes for which we employ light string. Heavier cord is made from twisted raffia in two strands. The strands are rolled between the palm and the bare thigh, the maker rolling first one strand and then the other and allowing the two to twist about each other. New lengths of fiber are rolled in as needed and the work proceeds with great rapidity. Heavier rope is usually braided from bundles of the untwisted fiber in a three-strand plait. Rope an inch in diameter can be made in this way. It is soft, light and extremely strong, but is rarely used at present because of the commercial value of the raffia.

[824] Inferior rope and cordage are made from the inner bark of various trees, called *hafotra*. The use of this material in weaving has already been described. In rope making the fiber is boiled, shredded and cut into pieces 4 feet long. The rope is braided in three-strand plaits from bundles of these. New pieces are introduced a few at a time, so as to keep the rope of uniform size and strength. *Hafotra* ropes are light and soft, but do not wear well. Small cordage is rarely made from it.

Strips of fresh bark are frequently used in place of string. Permanent lashings are usually made from split vines, while large vines

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437 bringing in various forest products and exchanging them for the merchant's wares.

FOREST PRODUCTS

438 314 The most important articles of trade are beeswax, rubber and raffia. The preparation of the first has already been described. Rubber was formerly an important export, but its value has declined in recent years, due to exhaustion of the wild supply and the low price it brings in competition with cultivated rubber.

314 824 The Tanala were familiar with the properties of rubber in pre-European times, but made little use of it themselves. The only uses I could discover were as a cement and as a material for small, conical tinder boxes. The latter were made only by some gentes of the Ikongo.

Rubber is called *herotra*. The natives divide it into *herotraza*, obtained from trees, and *hero-bahy*, obtained from vines. *Herotraza* is obtained from two trees, the *hero-potsy* and *hero-mena*, literally "white rubber" and "red rubber." The *hero-potsy* is the best. The same methods are used with both species. In one method, the tree is tapped with a series of diagonal cuts and the latex collected in bamboo cups fastened below. It is then poured into a large vessel and coagulated by adding the juice of various acid fruits, *voasarimasy*, *voatrotrokala*, or *voandongoza*.

The other method consists of felling the tree and cutting the trunk into sections 3 to 5 feet long. A section is placed on two wooden horses 18 inches to 2 feet high and a fire kindled underneath. The section is turned constantly, so that all parts will be roasted evenly, and is removed when the bark begins to catch fire. The bark is then stripped off and left in a damp place for eight or ten days. After this, it is pounded in a mortar and washed to free the rubber from dirt and fiber. It is sold in balls which contain a large proportion of impurities.

The *hero-bahy* is obtained from several different vines: *voahentenso*, *voahembory*, *herobanda* and *heromava*. The *herobanda* yields the most latex, but it is hard to coagulate. The *heromava* gives the best grade of rubber. The vines are cut into pieces 1 foot to 18 inches long. These are set upright in bowls or in cups made from the leaves of the Traveler's Palm. Even the roots are dug up and cut into slices to obtain the latex. The rubber is coagulated by boiling it with the juice of acid fruits.

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One of the most important forest products is raffia. This is not only an article of trade, but figures largely in native industries. The raffia palm usually grows in low, moist ground. It attains a height of from 20 to 30 feet. The natives cut the young fronds from the heart of the leaf head just before they begin to open. Care is taken not to cut too deeply, which would injure the tree. The leaflets are then cut from the midrib.

The raffia fiber is a thin, tough membrane which covers both the inner and outer surface of the leaflet. It must be stripped while the leaflets are still fresh. The membrane is loosened from the leaflet at its base, the operator using his thumb nail. A dozen or more leaflets are then gathered into a bundle and the ends of the membranes seized and stripped off with a single long pull. The raffia strips are then knotted together at the small end and hung over horizontal poles to dry. They are kept in the shade for about a day, then completely dried in the sun. When dry, the raffia is done up in large twists and is then ready for the market (Fig. 14, c). The native use of raffia for cordage and in weaving has already been described.

The natives also gather various wild resins and gums for trade to Europeans, but they make little use of them themselves.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

To the casual visitor it appears as though all the inhabitants of a Tanala village were on much the same economic level. There are no marked differences in the housing, clothing or food of the different families. No one appears rich, but, on the other hand, there are few signs of extreme poverty. The only individuals who seem really poor are a few old women living alone. It is only on closer acquaintance that one begins to realize the extreme importance of property in the social structure.

The material wants of the Tanala are few and easily satisfied, but property looms as large to them as to any group of European peasants and their attitude toward it is much the same. There is no display of wealth and all unnecessary expenditures are frowned upon, but there is a great love of money for its own sake. Any actual cash which comes into their hands is carefully hoarded. In spite of the severe penalties for theft and its relative rarity, the natives do not trust even their own families where money is concerned. A man who has a hoard of silver keeps it buried in some place known only to himself and usually does not divulge the fact even to his sons until he thinks he is about to die.

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[775] drombe, a real mountain in the Ankaratra range. The Imerina and Betsileo believe that the souls of their dead live there, and the Tanala have probably borrowed the idea from them. A very few said that, as the *ambiroa* were close to the *Zanahary*, their villages must be in the sky, where the *Zanahary* live. One *ombiasy*, who was unusually well versed in the old tribal lore, said that the spirit villages were actually in the villages of the living, the *ambiroa* being drawn back or held there by their afterbirths, which had been interred before the doors of the houses where they were born. All agreed that the *ambiroa* often took up their residence in abandoned villages. The commonest belief seems to be that the spirit villages are located near the village tomb or sacred place or in certain localities called *zintana*. The *zintana* may be the sites of ancient tombs which have been abandoned, old village sites, hilltops, places where one suddenly feels the air to becold and clammy, or patches of forest in which the [824] growth shows abnormalities. If the vines are twisted and knotted upon themselves and the trees turn in loops, or have stems that divide and unite again above, the place is certainly a *zintana*.

[782] Before such places can be cultivated an ox must be sacrificed, but after they have been brought under cultivation an annual sacrifice of rum at planting time seems to be enough. If this is not made, there will be no harvest and the persons who have planted the *zintana* will die. Sometimes a special part of the *zintana* is set aside for the sacrifices and left uncleared.

Although the fate of practically all *ambiroa* is that already described, there are two exceptions. The Manandriana gens of the Menabe believe that the *ambiroa* of persons killed with spears, and of those not buried in the village tomb, change into beings called *ziny*. The latter group would include lost bodies, lepers, smallpox victims, and the more flagrant thieves and sorcerers. The *ziny* are substantial and have the form of birds about the size of turkeys. They have fire under their wings which shows when they raise them. They are most frequently seen just before the rice is ripe, when people have begun to parch and eat it. They come into the villages at night and eat the chaff where the parched rice has been pounded. It is not dangerous to see them, but they sometimes attack people and that is fatal. The east coast tribes and the Betsileo also believe in the existence of these beings, but do not consider them of human origin. They appear to be derived from the Arab *djinns* and it seems probable that the Tanala, who think very little of non-human spirits, have added the idea of their human origin.

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used. If the person is rich and important they raise a stone for him. 766
If not the whole family assembles in his parents' house, kills an ox if rich enough, feasts, drinks rum and sings and dances all night and until the noon meal the next day. There is no invocation or ceremony and nothing is taken to the tomb. Among some of the other Menabe the relatives take a banana trunk, wrap it in cloth, lay it in the house in the place the corpse would occupy, and go through the complete funeral ceremony, including mourning, over it. The banana trunk is thrown away after the ceremony and the cloth may be used. A similar practice existed among the Imerina but there the cloth was wrapped around a *tsangambato* ("upright stone") erected in honor of the deceased. A banana tree is used as a substitute for the body [824] because the banana plant symbolizes a man. Like fortunate human beings it dies only in old age, after it has borne fruit, and leaves offspring, i.e., the new shoots that push up from the root of the plant. The form of the fruit is another reason the Menabe give for choosing it, for the banana is to the natives a phallic symbol and an emblem of fertility.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

Mourning is never violent. There is no loud wailing, beating of 765
the breast or self mutilation. Mourners of both sexes wear old and dirty clothes, allow their hair to hang loose and disheveled and rarely bathe. Distant relatives wear mourning for one or two months, a husband or wife usually for six months, and a parent who has lost a beloved child may wear it for a year or more.

Among the Menabe the relatives assemble at the house of death one or two months after the funeral to put off mourning. All persons who have entered the house while the body lay in it are expected to be there. An ox is killed and a person who is the only child of his or her mother asperges the place where the corpse has lain with the blood. The same person then takes more of the blood, rum, white powder made by grating the *olotafina* fungus, and the plants *ariandro*, *tsiontsiona*, *vilona*, *vahipika* and *longoza*, cut in small pieces, and puts all in a large wooden bowl with water. He then takes some of the mixture in a cupped leaf and pours a little into the hands of everyone present. They wash their faces with it and this ends the mourning period. Some begin at once to grease and braid their hair while others sing and dance. The ceremony ends with a feast. The Ikongo also have a ceremony to end mourning, but I could not learn the details.

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Among the Zafiakotry, the office may be held by either men or women. The new priest is, if possible, chosen from among the children of the deceased priest, but within this group the office is elective. The main requirement is a thorough knowledge of the rituals, but primogeniture seems to be important also. Thus, although men are usually preferred to women, in a choice between an eldest sister and her brothers the sister will be chosen if all are equally skillful. In the next generation, the children of the priest previously chosen will be given first consideration. This appears to be the commonest system among the Menabe, occurring in more than half of the gentes.

Priests hold office for life but, if they become old and infirm, may delegate their duties to some one else. Such substitution is temporary and does not affect the inheritance of the office. A priest may appoint three or four different persons as substitutes on different occasions.

Priests wear no special costume or distinguishing mark even when officiating, but must possess certain objects which are inherited from their predecessors. These are renewed without ceremony when they have been used up or worn out. The most important of these is the *hazomanga*. The term means literally "blue wood," but blue, being the color of the sky, is used in a figurative sense to indicate good or holy. The Zafindiamanana call it *hazomanitra* ("fragrant wood"). The *hazomanga* is a dry piece of the wood or bark of a tree having a strong aromatic odor, like camphor. This wood is thought to possess magical powers and only priests and *ombiasy* are allowed to keep pieces of it. Scrapings from it are used in all important sacrifices. Apparently it is considered a sort of seasoning which makes the offering more acceptable to the ancestors. The tree itself does not seem to be especially rare and is not sacred. Any one can cut it and pieces were formerly traded to the Betsileo, who have similar beliefs in regard to it. Among the Zafindiamanana only *ombiasy* may own *hazomanga*, loaning them to the priests for use in the sacrifices.

The priests also keep *olotafina* and *taniravo* or *ravoravo*. The *olotafina* is a species of fungus growing on dead trees. It is used in a ceremony to avoid the bad results of discarding a charm. *Taniravo* or *ravoravo* is white earth, used to mark people in various ceremonies. Among the Zafiakotry, and probably some other gentes, the priest also inherits a wooden bowl, used for serving the food cooked as a sacrifice, and a knife, used for scraping the *hazomanga*.

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777 wooden boxes with or without covers. Small rectangular boxes are also used and there are a few fantastic shapes, like the coffin model shown in Fig. 23, f. This is a charm for success in wrestling and the shape of the box may be significant. Some of the larger charms for general good fortune, which are kept in the dwelling, are put up in finely woven covered baskets. Horn containers, which are very common among the southern and western tribes, are rarely used [531] here (Fig. 23, e). Such containers may be decorated with a band of bead work around the larger end, but this is purely for ornament.

777 Few formulae for charms were obtained. They have to be bought
824 individually, often at exorbitant prices, and there is no way of checking on their authenticity. One *ody hasy* (charm to protect against gunshot wounds) is made by placing together pieces of wood from the following trees or bushes: (1) *Tsihabeza*, tree, virtues not defined. (2) *Vahita*, a vigorously growing bush. This gives strength and vitality. (3) *Amiro*, a species of palm with hard wood. Gives the person a hard surface. (4) *Berano* (lit. "much water"), a plant. This turns the enemy's bullets to water as they leave the gun. (5) *Tsilaitra* (lit. "impenetrable"), a tree. This makes invulnerable. (6) *Vahimasany* (lit. "brave creeper"), a vine. This makes brave. (7) *Kelimasany* (lit. "little brave"), a small tree. This makes brave. (8) *Famehilefona*, a tree. This protects from spears. (9) *Famakibady* (lit. "gun breaker"), a tree. This will cause the enemies' guns to explode. The substances are gathered and combined without any spell or ceremony and put in a container of wood or horn. They are usually soaked with grease or honey, but this is not necessary.

754 A charm used for killing an enemy is more complicated. Take
777 a root from the west side of the *arongana* ("poinsettia") plant and one
[824] from the east side of the *hazodinga* (a plant). Take the end of an aerial root of the *tsirikomby* (a large tree, apparently of the fig family) just before it touches the ground, also a root of the *longona* (a large-leafed plant like a caladium, growing in water) before it [825] touches the water. Add to these a small insect called *sakodiasatra* which lives in rotten wood. Pound the materials together in a mortar and fill the shell of a fresh-water snail with the mixture. The person who wishes to use this charm takes it and seven grains of rice, which have been husked by hand, and goes to a new tomb, usually at night. He makes a hole in the earth at the head of the tomb and names the person to be killed. He then waits until he hears any animal cry. After this he places the charm and the seven

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powder on the middle of his forehead, on either cheek and on his tongue. In general, the only charms which will be discarded are evil ones which have accomplished their object.

Charms for the family or lineage are much less numerous than those for the individual. Nearly all such groups seem to have *ody andro* (charms to bring general good fortune), which are kept in the dwelling of the family head. There are also charms against hail and locusts. Apparently one family or individual in each village will have such a charm which is used for the benefit of the whole group. The locust charm, *ody valala*, consists of a small basket containing scrapings from the roots and shoots of a plant called *ramanjasana*. The name means "to make clouds," because a little vapor flies up when the plant is cut. When a locust swarm is sighted, the charm is brought out and hung on a pole on the side of the *kianja* ("village square") from which the locusts are coming. A fire is made under it with the leaves of the same plant, producing dense clouds of smoke. The charm against hail was not learned. Among the pagan Imerina, every village had its hail and locust charms, each with its guardian, who received a small subsidy from the inhabitants.

Every Tanala village has a charm and many have two. The main charm is called the *tepanony*. Some famous *ombiasy* is called in to make it at the time the village is founded. He determines the proper materials by divination, pounds them together, adds a piece of silver money, and then buries the whole in the center of the *kianja* ("village square"). Over the charm are planted roots of four plants, the *sonjo* ("taro"), *sody fafana*, *akibita*, and *aricotombelona*. The spot is usually enclosed by a little rectangle of stone slabs set on edge. In some villages the plants are watered and tended, in others they have been allowed to die. If the village moves as a whole, the *tepanony* is usually dug up and reinterred at the new site. The *tepanony* protects the village from pestilence, also from lightning and malevolent ghosts, if the divination has shown that there will be danger from these at the site chosen. It does not protect from enemy attack.

The second village charm is known as the *kosory* and has the special function of protecting from enemies. Apparently most villages had a *kosory* in ancient times, but with the establishment of peace they have become unnecessary and have mostly disappeared. The *kosory* was placed in a small fenced enclosure just outside the principal gate. Apparently the form was rather variable. In a few cases it seems to have been a wooden image, set with its face toward

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411 The darts are made from splinters of bamboo, the smaller species being preferred because of their greater hardness. The shaft is about ⅛ inch in diameter and 10 to 11 inches long, tapering to a plain needle point. The feathering covers 2 to 2½ inches at the upper end (Fig. 24, c1). It is made of floss obtained from the half-ripe seed heads of a small purple flower, one of the Cichoriaceae. When the shaft is ready for feathering, the maker takes a slender filament of raffia and ties one end of it to the top of the dart, holding the other between his toes. He takes a seed head, splits the calyx with his thumb nail, and holds it against the shaft. He turns the shaft slowly, winding the filament around it in a descending spiral and at the same time presses the floss out of the head with his thumb. The filament catches the floss and binds it firmly to the shaft. Lastly, the filament is wrapped around the shaft two or three times, below the feathering, and tied. A single seed head will feather three to six turns, about ¾ inch and new seed heads are fed in as needed. The feathering requires only ten seconds and the complete dart can be made in less than a minute.

There has been some question as to whether poisoned blow-gun darts have ever been employed in Madagascar. Attempts to increase the efficacy of the weapon are almost universal, but most of the substances used are not actually poisonous. The Sakalava use the blow-gun in war to shoot charmed pieces of bone and pellets of earth from tombs against the enemy, both of these being powerful evil charms. The people of the east coast soak the darts designed for bird hunting in lemon juice, believing that it irritates the wound. In several groups there are charms for both the gun and the darts and the latter are sometimes smeared with magical preparations.

278 411 I am convinced that the Tanala Menabe use a genuine poison on their darts. The tribes who have fought against them certainly believe so, and I have myself seen lemurs which had been killed by small and apparently superficial wounds. The natives are rather reticent in regard to it, but the following formula for making it was obtained from a man of the Zafindiamanana gens:

Take scorpions, wasps, ants of a large, solitary species having a very poisonous sting, small black water beetles, the end of a cock's bill, a bit of cloth from the packing of a piston bellows and the heart wood of the *hisika* tree, a species of ebony, and grind them to a paste. I suspect that the insects, at least, must be added in a fixed number for each variety, but the informant was unwilling or unable to tell. Apparently no charm is recited at any stage of the work. The insects